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DEPT FOR E, P, EB, EAP/J, EAP/P, EAP/PD, PA; WHITE HOUSE/NSC/NEC; JUSTICE FOR STU CHEMTOB IN ANTI-TRUST DIVISION; TREASURY/OASIA/IMI/JAPAN; DEPT PASS USTR/PUBLIC AFFAIRS OFFICE; SECDEF FOR JCS-J-5/JAPAN, DASD/ISA/EAPR/JAPAN; DEPT PASS ELECTRONICALLY TO USDA FAS/ITP FOR SCHROETER; PACOM HONOLULU FOR PUBLIC DIPLOMACY ADVISOR; CINCPAC FLT/PA/ COMNAVFORJAPAN/PA.

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SUBJECT: DAILY SUMMARY OF JAPANESE PRESS 12/19/07

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ARTICLES:

(1) Yomiuri-Gallup poll: Bilateral ties invisible; North Korea's denuclearization first

YOMIURI (Page 12&13) (Full) December 14, 2007 A recent joint public opinion survey of the Japanese and American public, conducted by the Yomiuri Shimbun and the Gallup Organization, a U.S. pollster, posted a substantial decline from last year's survey in the Japanese and American views of relations between the two countries. In this year's annual survey, the Japanese and American public views of bilateral relations were at the lowest level ever since 2000. This seems to have reflected the invisibility of solutions to various issues pending between the two countries, such as the U.S. government's move to delist North Korea as a terror sponsor, North Korea's abduction of Japanese nationals, and the Maritime Self-Defense Force's pullout from its refueling mission in the Indian Ocean. The question is how to wipe out the invisibility of bilateral relations. Prime Minister Fukuda's diplomatic abilities will be put to the test.

Questions & Answers (Figures shown in percentage)

Q: Is there anything you trust in particular among the following organizations and public entities in your country? If any, pick as many as you like.

Japan U.S.
Prime minister 40.4 --Diet 23.2 --Police, prosecutors 43.3 --Courts 53.4 --Self-Defense Forces 46.8 --Buddhist temples, Shinto shrines, churches 41.1 --Central government offices 17.8 --Local governments 37.1 --Schools 44.9 ---

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Hospitals 54.3 --Newspapers 61.1 --Television 39.6 --Big businesses 22.2 --Labor unions 30.5 --Other answers (O/A) 0.8 --Nothing in particular (NIP) 9.4 --No answer (N/A) 1.3 ---

Japan U.S. President --- 36.2 Congress --- 31.9 Police, prosecutors --- 65.4 Courts --- 54.9 Armed services --- 77.8 Churches --- 75.3 Federal government offices --- 41.7 Local governments --- 49.1 Schools --- 63.7 Hospitals --- 74.0 Newspapers --- 48.6 Television --- 44.8 Big businesses --- 33.7 Labor unions --- 43.9 O/A --- 10.2 NIP --- 1.3 N/A ---

Q: Do you think Japan-U.S. relations are currently in good shape, or do you otherwise think Japan-U.S. relations are in bad shape?

Japan U.S. Very good 1.9 9.4 Good 37.5 36.7 Can't say which 22.9 30.9 Bad 29.5 7.3 Very bad 2.2 3.1 N/A 6.1 12.7

Q: Do you trust the U.S.?

```
Japan U.S.
Yes, very much 3.7 ---
Yes, somewhat 30.1 ---
No, not very much 40.7 ---
No, not at all 13.1 ---
N/A 12.3 ---
Q: Do you trust Japan?
 Japan U.S.
Yes, very much 16.5
Yes, somewhat 44.3
No, not very much 19.6
No, not at all 10.0
N/A 9.5
Q: Do you think Japan-U.S. relations will improve, worsen, or remain
unchanged from now on with Prime Minister Fukuda in office?
 Japan U.S.
TOKYO 00005611 003 OF 012
Improve very much 0.7 2.5
Improve 8.2 17.7
Remain unchanged 74.1 45.1
Worsen 9.1 7.7
Worsen very much 0.8 1.7
N/A 7.1 25.3
Q: If there is a country or area that you think will become a
military threat to your country, pick as many as you like from among
those listed below.
 Japan U.S.
U.S. 25.8 ---
Japan --- 25.5
South Korea 22.8 31.4
China 63.0 57.4
ASEAN 11.2 30.9
EU 7.5 15.4
Russia 39.9 44.5
Taiwan 6.5 16.4
North Korea 73.7 64.5
India 14.2 18.8
Middle East 34.3 76.0
Oceania 4.1 6.8
Africa 3.6 12.6
Central and South America 10.6 20.6
O/A 0.3 12.3
NIP 6.6 7.3
N/A 3.5 0.7
(Note) ASEAN = Association of Southeast Asian Nations; EU = European
Union; Oceania = Australia, New Zealand, etc.
Q: Do you think the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty contributes to
security in the Asia-Pacific region?
 Japan U.S.
Yes, very much 18.6 14.7
Yes, somewhat 46.3 47.6
No, not very much 14.5 12.6 No, not at all 4.0 6.6
N/A 16.6 18.6
Q: At present, there are many U.S. military bases in Japan under the
Japan-U.S. Security Treaty. What do you think should be done about
the U.S. military presence in Japan?
 Japan U.S.
Reinforce 1.3 8.1
Maintain at current levels 40.0 58.2
Reduce 42.2 12.1
Pull out 9.8 10.9
N/A 6.8 10.8
```

Q: Do you fear that a large-scale terrorist attack may occur in Japan like the Sept. 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in the U.S.? Japan U.S. Yes, very much 21.5 ---Yes, somewhat 45.3 ---No, not very much 20.7 ---No, not at all 8.5 ---N/A 3.9 ---TOKYO 00005611 004 OF 012 Q: Do you fear that another large-scale terrorist attack may occur in the U.S. like the Sept. 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in the U.S.? Japan U.S. Yes, very much --- 29.2 Yes, somewhat --- 43.3 No, not very much --- 13.8 No, not at all --- 11.9 N/A --- 1.9Q: Japan sent Maritime Self-Defense Force vessels to the Indian Ocean, where they conducted refueling and other activities for foreign naval ships belonging to multinational forces conducting antiterror operations in Afghanistan. However, the MSDF has now terminated its activities there because a law stipulating its mission there expired on Nov. 1. Do you support resuming the MSDF mission there? Japan U.S. Yes 29.3 17.7 Yes to a certain degree 16.0 35.4 No to a certain degree 13.4 7.9 No 27.4 15.9 N/A 13.9 23.0 Q: What do you think the Japanese and U.S. governments should work together to address on a priority basis among issues over North Korea? If any, pick as many as you like from among those listed. Japan U.S. Stop North Korea from developing nuclear weapons 92.2 83.8 Stop North Korea from developing and launching missiles 88.7 81.9 Resolve the issue of Japanese nationals abducted to North Korea 87.0 Normalize diplomatic relations between Japan and North Korea 45.1 Normalize diplomatic relations between the U.S. and North Korea ---Extend economic cooperation to North Korea 24.3 38.2 Change North Korea's political, economic systems 51.8 54.3 O/A 0.3 2.5 NIP 1.1 5.2 N/A 1.9 1.2 Q: Do you think North Korea will abandon its nuclear weapons and nuclear development programs as a result of the six-party talks with Japan, the U.S., South Korea, China, and Russia, over North Korea's

nuclear issues?

Japan U.S. Yes 13.2 10.5 Yes to a certain degree 13.9 11.4 No to a certain degree 16.7 16.0 No 42.3 55.9 N/A 13.9 6.1

Q: The U.S. designates North Korea as a terror sponsor and is currently taking economic sanctions and other measures. North Korea is calling for the U.S. to withdraw this designation. However, the Japanese government is asking the U.S. to continue this designation

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until the issue of Japanese nationals abducted to North Korea is
resolved. Would you like the U.S. to continue designating North
Korea as a terror sponsor?
 Japan U.S.
Yes 63.4 47.2
Yes to a certain degree 11.4 28.4
No to a certain degree 4.5 5.7
No 10.4 9.6
N/A 10.4 9.2
Q: Do you think Japan-China relations are currently in good shape?
 Japan U.S.
Very good 1.1 ---
Good 29.6 ---
Can't say which 26.9 ---
Bad 33.3 ---
Very bad 4.0 ---
N/A 5.1 ---
Q: Do you think U.S.-China relations are currently in good shape?
 Japan U.S.
Very good --- 3.9
Good --- 25.9
Can't say which --- 45.3
Bad --- 12.3
Very bad --- 4.6
N/A --- 8.0
Q: Do you trust China?
 Japan U.S.
Yes, very much 1.5 4.0
Yes, somewhat 14.2 31.5
No, not very much 45.1 34.4
No, not at all 28.9 25.1
N/A 10.4 5.0
Q: Which country between the U.S. and China do you think will be
more important to Japan in the political area from now on?
 Japan U.S.
U.S. 44.6 ---
China 34.4 ---
Both countries are important 10.3 ---
N/A 10.8 ---
Q: Which country between Japan and China do you think will be more
important to the U.S. in the political area from now on?
Japan U.S.
Japan --- 38.8
China --- 39.6
Both countries are important --- 6.5
N/A --- 15.1
Q: Which country between the U.S. and China do you think will be
more important to Japan in the economic area from now on?
TOKYO 00005611 006 OF 012
 Japan U.S.
U.S. 22.6 ---
China 61.5 ---
Both countries are important 6.1 ---
N/A 9.8 ---
Q: Which country between Japan and China do you think will be more
important to the U.S. in the economic area from now on?
 Japan U.S.
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Japan --- 32.2

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Both countries are important --- 6.7
N/A --- 11.8
Q: Do you feel uneasy about the safety of imports from China?
 Japan U.S.
Yes, very much 75.0 56.1
Yes, somewhat 18.0 24.1
No, not very much 4.0 9.6
No, not at \bar{a}11 0.7 7.8
N/A 2.3 2.3
Q: In August next year, China will host the Olympics in Beijing. Do
you think the Beijing Olympics will be managed well?
Japan U.S.
Yes 21.4 49.7
Yes to a certain degree 25.0 35.0
No to a certain degree 16.6 4.8
No 24.2 4.1
N/A 12.8 6.3
Q: Do you feel uneasy about global warming with an increasing amount
of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gas emissions from oil and
coal consumption?
Japan U.S.
Yes, very much 71.8 48.8
Yes, somewhat 20.2 26.8
No, not very much 4.4 9.3
No, not at all 1.3 10.9
N/A 2.4 4.2
Q: Many countries in the world participate in the Kyoto Protocol to
prevent global warming. Meanwhile, the U.S. has broken away from it.
Do you think the U.S. should participate in a new international
agreement to prevent global warming?
Japan U.S.
Yes 89.2 62.6
Yes to a certain degree 3.7 11.0
No to a certain degree 0.7 5.4
No 0.8 12.6
N/A 5.6 8.5
Polling methodology: The survey was conducted over the telephone on
a computer-aided random digit dialing (RDD) basis both in Japan and
in the U.S.
Japan:
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Date of survey: Nov. 15-18.
Subjects of survey: Voting population (aged 20 and over).
Number of valid respondents: 1,021 persons.
Breakdown of respondents: Male-50 PERCENT , female-50 PERCENT .
U.S.:
Date of survey: Nov. 9-18.
Subjects of survey: Voting population (aged 18 and over).
Number of valid respondents: 1,000 persons.
Breakdown of respondents: Male-46 PERCENT , female-54 PERCENT .
(2) Poll on Fukuda cabinet, political parties
NIKKEI (Page 2) (Full)
December 17, 2007
Questions & Answers
(Figures shown in percentage. Parentheses denote findings from the
last survey conducted in November.)
Q: Do you support the Fukuda cabinet?
Yes 43 (55)
```

No 46 (33) Can't say (C/S) + don't know (D/K) 11 (12)

Q: Which political party do you support or like now?

Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) 38 (42)
Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ or Minshuto) 34 (28)
New Komeito (NK) 4 (3)
Japanese Communist Party (JCP) 4 (3)
Social Democratic Party (SDP or Shaminto) 2 (2)
People's New Party (PNP or Kokumin Shinto) 1 (0)
New Party Nippon (NPN or Shinto Nippon) 0 (0)
Other political parties 0 (0)
None 12 (16)
C/S+D/K 5 (5)

(Note) The total percentage does not become 100 PERCENT in some cases due to rounding.

Polling methodology: The survey was taken on Dec. 14-16 by Nikkei Research Inc. over the telephone on a random digit dialing (RDD) basis. For the survey, samples were chosen from among men and women aged 20 and over across the nation. A total of 1,487 households with one or more eligible voters were sampled, and answers were obtained from 870 persons (58.5 PERCENT).

(3) DPJ head Ozawa's top-down coordination on candidates for next Lower House election

ASAHI (Page 4) (Excerpts) December 19, 2007

The main opposition Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ or Minshuto) has now reached final coordination on candidates for the next House of Representatives election. The DPJ is now focused on urban areas in which it suffered sweeping defeats in the 2005 Lower House election. In most of the electoral districts in the urban areas, new-face candidates and candidates who were defeated in the 2005 election will compete against each other. Chances are that if the DPJ

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increases Lower House seats in urban areas, it will defeat the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) in the next Lower House race. Therefore, party head Ichiro Ozawa is determined to field candidates to run in 250 single-seat districts by making top-down decisions.

"It is a tough role and unenviable task, but somebody has to tell her. I praise Ms. Ota for her achievements. I want you to leave her to me," Ozawa said in a party hosted by Lower House member Kazumi Ota, who represents the Chiba 7 district, on the night of Dec. 16 before supporters of Ota. Ozawa explained the DPJ's decision to have her change electoral districts.

Ota was elected to the Lower House in the by-election held last April immediately after Ozawa assumed the presidential post. The DPJ, which was suffering from the e-mail fiasco, has taken the offensive since Ota's victory and it was able to win big the July Upper House election.

Instead of Ota, the DPJ has endorsed Akira Uchiyama, an incumbent Diet member, who won a proportional representation seat after being defeated in the Chiba 7 electoral race. The party has picked Uchiyama as its candidate for the Chiba 7 district based on the results of its own survey. The outlook is that Ota will be transferred to an electoral district in Chiba or other Tokyo metropolitan areas. Ozawa was in charge of that coordination.

The largest opposition party yesterday informally endorsed eight persons as its candidates. Most of them are new-face candidates. It has decided to file four new candidates for single-seat districts in Tokyo, including Takako Ebata, former associate professor at the University of Tokyo, who will run in the Tokyo 10, where former Defense Minister Yuriko Koike won her seat in the 2005 Lower House election. Reportedly, Ozawa has stayed at party headquarters every day since last week in order to carry out coordination with senior Tokyo assembly members and those who are expected to run in the

election.

Ozawa picked Shiori Yamao, who just resigned as a former prosecutor, as the candidate for the Aichi No. 7 district race, although a former city assembly member was regarded as likely candidate. Yamao is a 33-year-old woman, who played a lead role of the popular musical Anny. Ozawa met on Dec. 12 with Yamao to ask her to run in the election. He bowed his head to senior Aichi prefectural chapter members, saying: "I think she will be a strong candidate. I will rely on you."

In a press conference yesterday, Ozawa stressed:

"There a number of electoral districts in urban areas, in which our party suffered a crushing defeat. If we fail to take advantage of the victory in the Upper House election, it will be difficult for us to have the majority of the Lower House seats."

(4) Editorial: MD test succeeds, but dreamlike system has yet to be completed

MAINICHI (Page 5) (Full) December 19, 2007

The Maritime Self-Defense Force's (MSDF) Aegis destroyer Kongo succeeded in intercepting a mock target with a sea-based Standard Missile 3 (SM-3) missile in a test conducted off Hawaii. Following

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this, the government will launch Japan's missile defense (MD) system.

According to the Defense Ministry, a mock ballistic missile was launched from a U.S. Navy facility. The MSDF destroyer, which was deployed several hundred meters from the facility, immediately detected by radar and tracked the missile, launching an SM-3. The SM-3 missile successfully hit and destroyed the target outside the atmosphere at an altitude of more than 100 kilometers.

The missile used in the test was based on assumptions of the structure of North Korea's intermediate-range ballistic missile. The target flies much faster than the speed of sound and is therefore more difficult to intercept. Vice Defense Minister Akinori Eto, present at the missile range facility, proudly said: "The success of the test will enable Japan to protect its people from the threat of ballistic missiles and strengthen its national security."

Eto's remark sounds as if a dreamlike defense system has been created, but it is premature to consider that the success of the test this time resolved various questions about the MD system.

There is a technical problem. The test in Hawaii was conducted under favorable climatic conditions. The MSDF also had been informed by the US military beforehand of when the mock missile will be fired. The effectiveness of the interceptor in an unexpected situation has yet to be clarified.

There is also a problem of cost. The Defense Ministry estimates the total cost needed by fiscal 2012 for development and maintenance of the MD system at 800 billion yen to one trillion yen, but the cost may double if an advanced MD system of the next generation is introduced or depending on the outcome of negotiations with the U.S.

The development of the MD system reportedly gave a big business chance for the US military industry. That is why the Diet needs to conduct financial checks in detail so as not to allow the cost to mount endlessly.

It is also necessary to discuss how Japan should deal with a ballistic missile heading toward an area other than Japan. The government's conventional explanation is that Japan's intercepting a missile targeted at the U.S. is likely to come under the use of the right to collective self-defense. The former Abe administration was ready to change this interpretation, but the Fukuda cabinet has yet to reveal its view.

North Korea's launch of the Taepodong missile in 1998 prompted Japan to consider introducing the MD system. The government has stressed that the introduction of the MD system is not contradictory to Japan's defense-only policy, but it has to keep in mind the possibility that the joint operation by Japan and the U.S. might stimulate East Asia, including China, and result in setting off a new technology development race.

In launching the joint operation of the MD system, the U.S. has asked Japan to tightly control information. A MSDF officer was arrested for leaking classified information on the Aegis system. Will it be able to re-establish discipline? There are a host of tasks to resolve.

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(5) Editorial: Japan, U.S. should strengthen alliance, set off by success of Aegis missile test

SANKEI (Page 2) (Full) December 19, 2007

The Maritime Self-Defense Force's (MSDF) Aegis destroyer Kongo succeeded in intercepting a mock ballistic missile with an SM-3 missile in a test off Hawaii. So far, only the United States has successfully intercepted a mock missile with an SM-3 missile. Japan conducted the test in cooperation with the U.S. military, but the outcome is greatly owing to the MSDF's unflagging training and efforts.

Japan is speeding up the construction of a ballistic missile system, in reaction to North Korea's firing of ballistic missiles in July last year and its nuclear test in October. The MSDF initially planned to install an SM-3 on the Kongo in March of next year.

North Korea has deployed the ballistic missile Rodong with a range covering all of Japan. It is uncertain whether North Korea has developed miniaturization technology, but it is quite natural for Japan to make thoroughgoing preparations against the mounting crisis.

Seeing a MSDF officer arrested for leaking top-secret information about key functions of MSDF Aegis destroyers, the public became more distrustful of the SDF. Japan plans to deploy four Aegis destroyers carrying an SM-3 missile, including the Kongo, by the end of 2010. The MSDF must strengthen its national defense system in order to restore public trust in it.

For the success of Japan's missile defense, joint work in cooperation with the U.S. is indispensable. Only early-warning satellites of the U.S. are capable of detecting missile firing. The SDF has so far depended on intelligence from the U.S.

Japan will not be able to defend its current peace and safety if there is no joint defense system with the U.S. The Japanese government, however, allows Japan to intercept only incoming ballistic missiles, based on the interpretation that the use of collective self-defense is constitutionally prohibited.

The former Abe administration launched a council to discuss whether shooting down a missile heading toward the U.S. comes under the use of collective self-defense. But the panel has yet to issue a report, due to the change of government.

Prime Minister Yasuo Fukuda has taken a cautious stance about allowing the use of collective self-defense. Some observers expect that the administration may seal the panel's report.

Beset with such issues as the suspension of the MSDF refueling mission in the Indian Ocean, the reduction in Japan's host-nation budget for US forces in Japan, and the question of whether the U.S. would delist North Korea as a state sponsor of terrorism, Japan and the U.S. are now harboring doubts toward each other. The MSDF's success, however, underscores the importance of the Japan-U.S. alliance.

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TOKYO SHIMBUN (Page 1) (Abridged slightly) December 19, 2007

A Maritime Self-Defense Force (MSDF) Aegis-equipped destroyer, introduced for air defense, conducted its first interceptor test (on Dec. 17) since it was converted into a vessel required to play a major role in the missile defense (MD) system. Before the test, Captain Mineo Hirata, 54, the commander of the Kongo spoke of the vessel's heavy responsibility in this way: "The seriousness of this is different. If we fail in a real situation, Japanese people would sustain casualties."

The Kongo succeeded in intercepting a mock missile launched from Kauai Island, Hawaii, at 0:12 p.m. Dec. 17, or 7:12 a.m. Dec. 18, Japan time.

The MSDF has detected ballistic missiles twice outside its exercise. They were "real situations" in which the MSDF did not know when and where the missiles were launched.

The first situation occurred on August 31, 1998. The Aegis-equipped Myoko in waters in the Sea of Japan 250 kilometers away from the coast of North Korea detected an ascending medium-range "Taepodong" ballistic missile. The missile's wake was flat on the radar screen. It flew over the Japanese archipelago.

Captain Kazuo Yukinaka, 48, currently the Ashigara's prospective commanding officer, felt uneasy, thinking a second missile might follow. Aegis-equipped destroyers not converted for MD cannot detect a second missile until after they finish tracking the first one. There was no second launch, and the destroyer's blind spot was not caught off guard.

The second situation occurred on July 5, 2006. The North launched seven ballistic missies in succession. The Myoko and Kongo were deployed in the Sea of Japan. Using an infrared detection system, U.S. early warning satellites detected what seemed to be the injection heat of a Taepodong-2 missile capable of reaching the continental United States. But the heat suddenly disappeared.

Captain Yukinaka, who was serving as the Kongo's commander at the time, said: "All missiles that flow over the horizon were detected." There is a possibility that the Taepodong-2 was either a failure or a decoy made of several short-range ballistic missiles.

The Ministry of Defense has a plan to deploy two Aegis-equipped destroyers in the Sea of Japan against North Korean ballistic missiles. Aegis-equipped MD vessels possessed by Japan and the United States can intercept up to two slow-speed short-range ballistic missiles that were launched in quick succession.

North Korea has approximately 200 Rodong medium-range missiles that can hit Japan. There are limits to the Aegis vessels' detection ability and the number of interceptor missiles they can carry. The defense shield can be broken with the launch of multiple missiles in rapid succession. It is possible that the North launched the seven missiles last year just to demonstrate that it was fully aware of "MD's blind spot."

An MSDF officer noted: "MD is a deterrent. If it can intercept incoming missiles 60 PERCENT of the time, the other side will not push the launch button." He regards the relationship between MD and

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ballistic missiles as a mind game, like the United States and Soviet Union deterred each other's nuclear missiles with nuclear missiles during the Cold War.

Because U.S. satellite information is indispensable in ballistic

missile defense, Japan and the United States have decided to work as a team. Japanese and U.S. Aegis vessels deployed in the Sea of Japan will launch interceptors after targets are automatically assigned for them. The biggest question is who determines the priority order of interceptors and how.

Hawaii lies on an extension of the trajectory of the Taepodong missile launched in 1998. Intercepting a U.S.-bound ballistic missile would constitute exercising the right to collective self-defense, which is prohibited under the Constitution. Despite that, the United States has asked Japan to cooperate in defending the homeland.

If MD has deterrence effect, simply possessing a system should be sufficient. In the event (a missile) is still launched, it is said that debate on the use of the right to collective self-defense is unavoidable. MD that should defend Japan is also a weapon aimed at Japan's national policy.

(7) Japan, Hungary agree on purchase of greenhouse gas emissions credits

MAINICHI (Page 2) (Full) December 19, 2007

The Japanese government yesterday reached a basic agreement with the government of Hungary to initiate negotiations on Japan's purchase of greenhouse gas emission credits from Hungary under the emissions trading system. In order to meet its greenhouse gas reduction target set by the Kyoto Protocol, Japan has continued negotiations with Poland and the Czech Republic to pave the way for buying emissions credits from them. However, the agreement with Hungary is the first for Japan.

The Japanese and Hungarian governments will move to the next stage of real trade after coming up with guidelines for the trade. Japan intends to buy from Hungary credits for up to 10 million tons of carbon dioxide for an estimated 20 million yen. Hungary is required to use the 20 million yen only for energy-saving and environmental measures.

The emissions trading system is one of the mechanisms that is incorporated into the Kyoto Protocol. Under the system, countries having difficulty achieving their reduction targets can purchase surplus emissions credits from countries that have met their reduction goals.

SCHIEFFER